

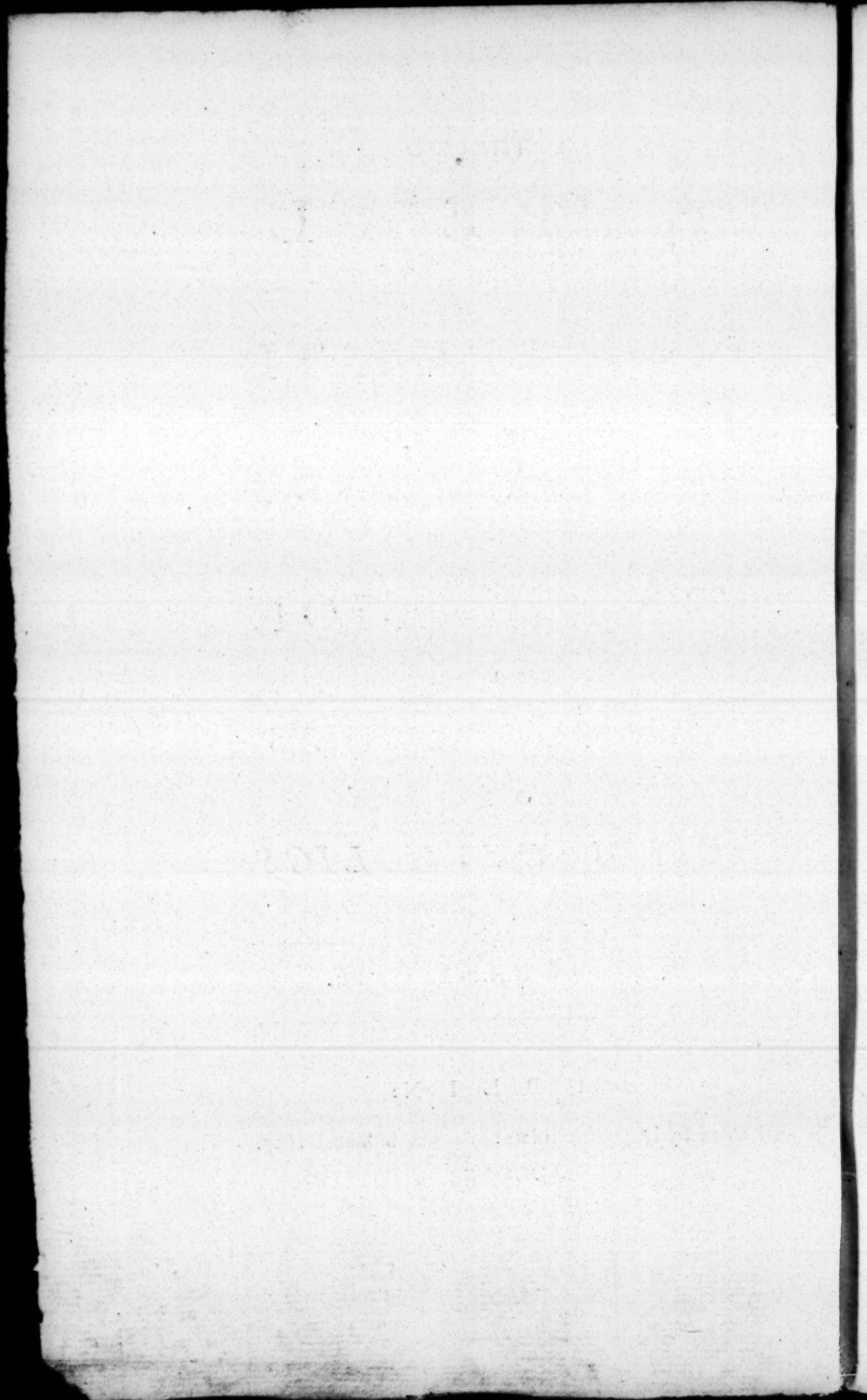
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A THIRD
A P P E A L
To HIS GRACE THE
LORD PRIMATE
O F
ALL IRELAND.
I N
V I N D I C A T I O N
O F T H E
P O L I T I C A L P R I N C I P L E S
O F
R O M A N C A T H O L I C S.

By an honest FREE-THINKER.

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M DCC L X.





A T H I R D
A P P E A L

TO HIS GRACE THE
LORD PRIMATE of All *Ireland.*

My LORD,

IN Excuse for the Trouble, which I once more presume to give your GRACE, concerning some Principles and Practices *imputed* to Roman-Catholics, which are justly thought dangerous to those Protestant Governments, under which they are permitted to live; I shall only offer (besides the Importance of the Subject itself) this Assurance on my Part, That it is, probably, the last Trouble of that, or any other Kind, which Your GRACE will ever receive from the same Hand. Your Goodness, my LORD,

will pardon the re-iterated Sollicitation of Your Regard to a People, so long *misrepresented*; while Your GRACE's Judgment is still appealed to as decisive, with Respect to the *Reality* of such Misrepresentation.

THAT those, who deem it lawful to resist the ruling Power, whenever it seemeth to them to offer Violence to their Religion or Property, should, in such Case, rebel against it; is not at all to be wondered at: Nor are such Persons, my LORD, ever at a Loss for (^a) specious Reasons to excuse, or even to justify, such Rebellion. But, when Subjects have suffered their Religion, Property, and Liberty, to be taken from them, at a Time in which it was evidently in their Power to have preserved them by Resistance, and when they have patiently endured Exile, Imprisonment, and Death itself, rather than, by exciting Rebellion against their Prince, endeavour to prevent those Evils; *such Men*, my LORD, cannot, surely, be said to be *Rebels*, by *Principle* at least. Prejudice itself must confess them to have given the strongest external Proofs of Loyalty that Men are capable of giving: And, whatever Disloyalty others, of the *same* religious Persuasion, have been guilty of, it ought, in Charity, to be ascribed rather to the Weakness or Passions of the *Men*, than to the Influence of their *Religion*, which hath operated so very differently (for no other imaginable Motive

(^a) See an *Historical Essay on the Loyalty of Presbyterians*, printed in 4to. in 1713.

Motive could have so operated) in the Circumstances above-mentioned. That this has been often the Case of Roman-Catholics, both Clergy and Laity, in different Parts of the World, where their Religion had been established, hath been already shewn by others: I shall, my LORD, endeavour to prove it to have been their Case nearer Home, I mean in *England*, from the Beginning of the Reformation there, in the Reign of *Henry VIII*, to the End of that of Queen *Elizabeth*; And, for that Purpose, I will adduce some plain Matters of *Fact*, which I find recorded in our own most authentic *Protestant* Histories of those Times.

AND, in Truth, * the first King of *England* that ever gave effectual Cause; in the Face of the World, to try the admirable Patience, Order, and Loyalty of his Roman-Catholic Clergy, was the aforesaid *Henry VIII*; *first*, by taking from them their Abbeys and Church-lands, (in direct Violation of the GREAT CHARTER) the Value of which, at *that* Juncture, amounted to the *then* prodigious Sum of ^(b) £ 320,180. 10 s. Sterling, annual Rent; and, *secondly*, by imposing on them, and all his other Subjects, the new Oath of his spiritual Supremacy, on Pain of Death; which he took Care to have inflicted, with undistinguishing Cruelty, on all conscientious Recusants; witness, among many others, the Great Sir *Thomas More*, and Doctor *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*.

AND

(b) Heylin's Hist. of Q. Eliz. fo. 90. * See Image
of both Churches.

* AND although, my LORD, these suppressed Abbeys were governed by Men of Power and Understanding, whose Revenues were great, whose Tenants were many and rich, and who themselves were greatly favoured by the People for their Hospitality, and highly esteemed by the Nobility and Gentry; and although the Knights of St. John of Hierusalem were in the same distressed State (save only a scanty Pension that was distributed among them) and by their Fraternities might have procured great Troubles (insomuch, that it was commonly (c) thought that more than 10,000 Persons, as well Masters as Servants, lost their Livelihoods by that Act of Suppression): —— Nevertheless, my LORD, this Clergy did, on that trying Occasion, testify the Patience of true Israelites, and the Obedience of true Subjects; and, arming themselves with Prayers and Tears, took up no other Weapons, nor raised any Insurrections. For, as to the Risings of the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire Men, about that Time, it is not pretended, my LORD, that the Body of the Clergy was concerned in either: And it may be gathered from Lord (d) Herbert that these Insurrections were occasioned by new and grievous Taxes then imposed, rather than by any Alteration made in Religion. For, the Lincolnshire Men, in their Proposals for laying down Arms, expressly confessed the King to be (e) supreme Head

(c) Heylin's Hist. of Q. Eliz. fo. 90. (d) Id.
ibid. fo. 91. (e) Hist. of the Life and Reign of
Henry VIII. fo. 410. * See the Same.

Head of the Church of England; which was the only Alteration then made in Religion: And the Rebels of *Yorkshire*, though upwards of 30,000, submitted in a few Days, upon no other Concession from his Majesty, but a (f) general Pardon, and the Promise of a Parliament to be held in their own Parts; without having obtained any one Point in Matters of Religion: Which shews that Religion was made Use of by them, only as a *Pretext*, and a *Snare* to draw in Numbers, and encrease their Strength.

IT is true, my LORD, that, after the *Yorkshire* Insurgents became considerable, this Pretext of Religion brought over to them some starving Priests and Fryars, who hoped, by their Means, to be restored to their Livings; as some of them actually were for a short Time: Nor will this be at all wondered at, if we consider that, by the before-mentioned Suppression of Abbeys alone (to say Nothing of other Church-livings) *more than ten thousand* religious Persons and their Dependents were turned out of their own Doors, and left unprovided of Food and Habitations; "which," says my Author, "moved the common People to much "Compassion, to see those forced to live "by Alms, who, by their bountiful Hos- "pitality, had relieved so many."

In the ensuing Reign, my LORD, of *Edward VI.* there remained no Face, and scarce
"the

(f) Id. ibid.

the Name of the *Popish* Religion ; “ though
 “ there were great Multitudes of Men well-
 “ affected to it, and discontented to see their
 “ Church driven into a Wilderness, and
 “ forced to lurk in Corners.” Their so-
 lemn Service of the Mass was *then* so strictly
 forbidden by the State, that the (g) Prince-
 cess *Mary* herself, the King’s Sister, and Heir
 apparent to the Crown, was hardly, and not
 without the pressing Sollicitations, and even
 Threats of the Emperor, suffered to have it
 in private. And even that small Favour was
 soon after denied her, and her Chaplains and
 principal Servants imprisoned, on Pretence
 of her having suffered others to be present at
 that Service. At the same Time that she re-
 ceived this Affront, the Lords of the Council
 were ordered to declare to her in the King’s
 Name, (h) “ that his Majesty, finding how
 “ unmoveable she was from her former
 “ Courses, had resolved not to endure it
 “ longer, unless he might perceive some
 “ Hope of her Conformity within a short
 “ Time.” To which, my LORD, that Prince-
 cess answered, that “ her Soul was God’s,
 “ and that, for her Faith, as she could not
 “ change it, so she would not dissemble it.—
 “ Upon which (says *Heylin*) she was appoint-
 “ ed to remain with the King; but none of
 “ her Chaplains were permitted to have
 “ Speech with her, or Access to her.” — Nor
 could this King, my LORD, be ever afterwards
 induced, either by the Entreaties or Menaces
 of the Emperor, to allow her the private Ex-
 ercise

(g) *Heyl. Edw.* VI. fo. 102. (h) *Id. ibid.*

ercise of her Religion. Nevertheless, the Roman-Catholic Clergy all this Time behaved peaceably, humbly, and loyally, to that Shadow of a King! Nor doth it appear, that more than *one* Priest was concerned in any of the numerous Insurrections of that short Reign: And lest the Thing, for its Rarity, might have escaped the People's Notice, and *he* not be known to be a *Priest*; they took Care, at his Execution, to have him decked out in his priestly *Vestments*, with his Beads at his Girdle, and with every other Peculiarity of Dress, that denoted either his *Function*, or *Religion*.

Such, my LORD, were the Pressures, under which the Popish Clergy and Laity laboured in both these Reigns; and such their admirably meek and patient Behaviour under them! — How far the Princess *Mary's* Resentment of such ill Treatment, heightened by the Rebellion afterwards raised against her, on her Brother's Death, in Favour of Lady *Jane Grey*, (and that, confessedly, for no other Reason, but because she was a *Papist*); how far, I say, these Provocations might have afterwards urged her to suffer that cruel Persecution of *Protestants*, which disgraced her Reign, I shall not pretend to determine: But, certain it is, my LORD, that when it pleased the Almighty, in a few Years, to put an End to both that Persecution and her Life, *Popery* was fully re-established in *England*; and all Places of Trust and Power, in Church and State, as well as the two Houses of Par-

B liament

liament, were filled by *Papists*. So that, it may be truly said, that all the Wealth and Power of the Kingdom were lodged in *Papist* Hands, at the Time of that Queen's Decease.

And what *Use*, my LOR D, did the *Papist* Clergy and Laity make of that *lucky Conjuncture* of their Affairs? — Did they, or any of them, employ the least Part of their Wealth, their Power, or their Influence, to *prevent the Succession* of the Princess *Elizabeth* (ⁱ), “whose Averseness from the Church of *Rome* was then sufficiently known?” Or, had any of Queen *Mary*'s Popish Bishops or Council tampered with that Queen, during her long Illness, to alter the *legal Succession* in Favour of Popery and the Queen of *Scots*, who set up no unpleasible Claim to the Crown, as the Council of her Predecessor had effectually done, during his tedious Sickness, in Behalf of Lady *Jane Grey* and the reformed Religion? Or, did any of Queen *Mary*'s Priests or Bishops, at that *critical Junc- ture*, preach up Rebellion against the Prince(s) *Elizabeth*, because she was a *Protestant*, as (I am sorry, my LOR D, (^k) that historical Justice obliges me to confess it,) Doctor *Ridley*, Bishop of *London*, and others, had before done, on King *Edward*'s Death, against the Princess *Mary*, because she was known to be a *Papist*? — No, my LOR D: — Your GRACE needs not to be informed, though many others may, that the *Contrary* of all this was

(ⁱ) *Camb. Heyl. &c.* (^k) *Heyl. Hist. of Q. Mary*, fo. 14.

was done by both the Laity and Clergy, at that important Juncture.

(1) For, as soon as the Lords, spiritual and temporal, then assembled in Parliament, received the News of Queen *Mary's* Death, *they* sent a Message to the Speaker of the House of Commons, then also sitting, desiring him and all the Members of that House to come presently to them; which being done, Lord Chancellor *Heath*, (who had been *deposed* and *imprisoned* by King *Edward*; for having refused the Oath of Supremacy,) declared unto them, in the Name of all the Rest of the Lords, that, "as God had taken to his Mercy the late Queen *Mary*, and as *none could doubt* of the Princess *Elizabeth's* most certain Right to the Crown; the Prelates and Peers had agreed, with one Voice and Mind, to proclaim her Queen, with all Speed; as nothing seemed to them more necessary than Expedition, for preventing all such Plots and Practices of any discontented or ambitious Persons, as might be set on Foot to the Disturbance of the common Quiet: That, therefore, their Concurrence was required, they being then so opportunely convened, as the Representatives of the whole Body of the Commons of the Realm of *England*."

The Archbishop had scarce ended his Speech, when all the Knights and Burgeses cried out, with one Voice, "Long live

B 2 Queen

(1) Id. Hist. of Q. Eliz. fo. 101. See Camb. &c.

" Queen *Elizabeth!* may she reign long and
" happily over us!" — So that she was im-
mediately proclaimed by the King at Arms;
first, before *Westminster-hall-door*; and, soon
after, at the Cross in *Cheapside*, and other
Parts of the City, with as many Demos-
trations of Joy and Love in the common
People, as any Prince ever had, or could
have, received, on the like Occasion.

And yet, my LORD, notwithstanding all
this Loyalty of the *Popish* Clergy and Laity,
the Statutes of the Supremacy, and the Ab-
rogation of their Religion were shortly after
enacted by that Parliament: And even be-
fore the Expiration of the first Year of her
Reign, (^m) all the Bishops in *England*, six Ab-
bots, Priors, and Governors of religious Or-
ders, twelve Deans, and as many Archdea-
cons, fifteen Presidents or Masters of Col-
leges, fifty Prebendaries of cathedral Church-
es, and about eighty Parsons or Vicars, (be-
ing in all about two hundred) were deprived,
and imprisoned, for not conforming to these
new Statutes!

And is it possible that the powerful *Popish*
Clergy, at that Juncture, made *no Opposition*
to these Encroachments and Violences? did
they form no Conspiracies, nor raise any In-
surrections, on that Occasion? — Most cer-
tain it is, my LORD, that they *did not*. —
For, neither then, nor at any other Time
(ⁿ) during the first eleven Years of Queen
Elizabeth.

(^m) See *Camb. Heyl.* &c. (ⁿ) *Camb. Eliz.* p. 170.

Elizabeth, was there the least Stir or Commotion in any Part of the Kingdom: Nay, my LORD, we do not find that, during her whole long Reign of five and forty Years, more than two *Popish Priests* were convicted of any Thing like *actual Treason*, against her Person or Government; *Ballard*, for knowing and concealing the Attempts of *Babington*; and *Plumbtree*, for saying Mass at the Rising in the *North*: Which Rising, my LORD, as (o) *Cambden* confesses, was concerted chiefly with a View to rescue the unhappy Queen of *Scots*, then, and for some Years before, unjustly made a Prisoner in *England*. —— And although, these *Northern* Insurgents wrote circular Letters to all the *Roman-Catholics* in the Kingdom, exhorting them to collect their Strength and join with them; and *that* under the *alluring Pretext* of restoring their Religion, then *utterly suppressed*: Yet, so far were they from joining these Insurgents, or from giving them Room to hope that they would ever join them, that *most* of those, who received such Letters, (p) delivered both *them*, and the *Bearers* of them into the Hands of the Government; and “the whole Body of *Roman-Catholics*” says *Cambden*, “in every Part of the Realm, shewed a generous Emulation, among themselves, who should contribute most liberally, either in Money, or personal Assistance, towards suppressing that Insurrection.”

NOR

(o) Id. ib. p. 169.

(p) Id. ib. p. 168.

NOR can, I humbly conceive, any *fair Argument* against the Loyalty of Roman-Catholic Principles be drawn from the Execution of *some* of their Priests, in this Reign, for *supposed Treason* against her Majesty: For, although, my LORD, these Priests had been *really guilty of Treason*, (which I cannot be persuaded to believe, until I am convinced that the *private Exercise* of their Religion or Function, for which most of them suffered Death, is **TREASON**) it is surely no great Wonder, if a few Men, smarting under the Lash of a severe and lasting Persecution, were *at length seduced*, contrary to their known Duty, to enter into Schemes for transferring the supreme Power into such Hands as, they confidently hoped, would deal more mercifully by them. I do not pretend to maintain, that Loyalty to a *Protestant Prince*, or to *any Prince*, is so deeply rooted in the *Hearts of Popish Priests*, that neither the Fear of Banishment, Confiscation, Goals, or Death, can efface or diminish it: No, my LORD, such an Encomium is not, I think, universally due to our own Clergy: And I pray God their Loyalty may never be put to so dangerous a Tryal! — But this I shall venture to affirm, That History doth not afford us a more shining Proof and Example of that heroical Virtue, in any Set of Men whatsoever, than what the whole Body of the *Popish Clergy, Nobility, Gentry and Commons of England*, exhibited during the three Reigns of our reforming Princes, before-mentioned.

I HAVE

I HAVE just now intimated to your GRACE, that most of those Priests who were hanged for Treason, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, were not guilty of any real Conspiracy against her Person or Government: And there are not wanting some good Vouchers of the Truth of that Intimation. (s) Even Cambden, my LORD, her Historiographer, seems to confess, That the Executions of *Edward Campion, Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Alexander Briant*, were reluctantly suffered by her, merely to *quiet the Minds* of her Subjects; who apprehended, from a Treaty of Marriage then on Foot, between her Majesty and a Son of France, that she intended to change her Religion, and tolerate *Popery*: And it is manifest, from what the same Author hath subjoined immediately after, That the Lives of *Popish* Priests in that Reign were frequently made a Sacrifice, to gratify a jealous and biggotted People; or to answer some other evil State-Purposes: For, (r) he tells us that "the Queen herself often complained, "that the Necessity of the Times compelled "her to take such Courses; and that she be- "lieved those miserable Priests, whom she "thus suffered to be put to Death, were, for "the most Part, not conscious of, or con- "cerned in, any destructive Design against "their Country."

THE same Writer, my LORD, confesses (s) that the wicked Emissaries of that Queen's Ministry did often lay Snares to *entrap* innocent

(s) *Eliz.* p. 347.

(r) *Ib.*

(s) *Ib.* p. 337.

cent *Papists*, and to bring them under a Suspicion of being concerned in such Designs, by dropping Letters in their Houses, signed with the Names of Persons already condemned or imprisoned for such Crimes. Nay, these Prosecutions and Severities, my LORD, were then carried to such a scandalous Excess, (^t) that her Majesty, ever studious to leave behind her a good Name and Memory, finding herself every-where represented as inhuman on these Accounts; expressed the highest Resentment and Indignation against those who were concerned in them, not only as Injurers of her Reputation and Honour, but also as Men guilty of the most savage Cruelty and Barbarism: And, so far was she from being satisfied with the Apologies published by her Judges on that Occasion, that she laid her Commands on them, to abstain for the future from all Torments and Executions on the Score of Religion; ordering, soon after, seventy imprisoned *Popish* Priests (some of whom were sentenced to die, and the rest in Danger of the like Sentence) to be no otherwise punished, than by Transportation out of the Kingdom.

AND, in Truth, my LORD, whoever will cast an impartial Eye on the History of the Tryals and Executions of these Priests, and afterwards compare it with what past, of the same Kind, during the ever memorable *Popish-Plot*, in 1679, will find such a perfect Similitude between them, that it will be difficult

to

(^c) Id. ib. p. 378

to tell *which* of these Tryals and Executions were the most unjust, illegal, and inhuman; or, whether *Cecil*, under *Elizabeth*, or *Shaftesbury*, under *Charles II.* made Use of that *Match-avilian* Expedient of *forged* Conspiracies with the most State's-man-like Dexterity.

QUEEN *Elizabeth*, my LORD, was the Patroness and the Refuge of all the distressed *Protestants of Europe*, in her Time: Our Histories are full of her Praises on that Score. The powerful Supplies of Men and Money, which she sent to the *Scotch-Puritans*, the *French-Huguenots*, and to the *Dutch-Calvinists*, are at this Day remembered, to her Honour, by these different People. I am very far from suffering any Thing to drop from my Pen, that might look like a Diminution of that Honour, or a Censure on such signal Proofs of her Charity and Zeal for the *Protestant* Religion: — I shall only observe to Your GRACE, that the respective Sovereigns of these People looked upon her Majesty's Conduct, in this Particular, in a very *different Light* from what we have ever done. — These Sovereigns, my LORD, complained aloud that she had assisted their *rebellious* Subjects, then actually in Arms against them, with an avowed Design to set up a new Form of religious Worship, contrary to *that*, which had been, for so many Ages, established among them by Law; and, as her Majesty, by this Proceeding, gave a fair Precedent *against herself*, that foreign Princes might be warranted by

her own *Example*, to assist her *Popish Subjects*, if they should offer to rise for their Religion: It is no Wonder, if these provoked Powers did privately stir up some *Papists* in *England*, to make Reprisals on her, in the *same Way*, and on Pretence of restoring their *old Form* of Worship, which she had utterly abolished.

AFTER all, my LORD, it is pretty evident, that it was not so much the Hope of restoring their Religion, as Compassion for the Queen of Scots' unmerited Distress, that prompted the few Lay-*English-catholics* of Note to appear in the *Northern Insurrection*, before-mentioned: For, it is well known that the People of *England*, even in the Times of *Popery*, have often strenuously opposed the Encroachments of the See of *Rome* on their spiritual, as well as temporal Rights. And, to omit many other Instances; — even in our bigoted Queen *Mary's Reign*, “ there was some Clashing,” says Sir *Peter Pett*, “ of the two Swords, the regal and pontifical, and the People of *England* were like to be diverted with a Sort of *Prize* played between them; when Cardinal *Pool*, her Kins-man, who had reconciled *England* to *Rome*, was so far lost in the Pope's good Graces, as that his Legantine Power was taken from him, and, in Affront to *Pool*, given to *Peyto*, a poor Fryar; but his red Hat, by *Mary's Opposition*, could get no farther than *Calais*: And, she was so regardless of the Pope's Curses in the Cafe, that his Bulls in Favour of the new Legate were not permitted

“ permitted to arrive in *England*: So that
 “ the designed Legate was forced to go up
 “ and down the Streets of *London*, like a
 “ begging Fryar, without a red Hat.”

ON this Occasion, my LORD, I beg Leave to mention an Argument in great Vogue, which is made use of against giving any Encouragement to the *Roman-Catholics* of these Kingdoms, but which in itself has no Manner of Force: — It hath been said, that the Ruling Power in those *Protestant* States, under which *Roman-Catholics* live peaceably, and like good Subjects, have no *Popish Competitor*; nor have these Subjects any real, or even pretended Cause to wish or expect to see the established Form of Government over-turned by any daring or insidious Attempts of such Competitor. — But, is it not notorious, my LORD, that there were great Numbers of *Roman-Catholics* among the *Hollanders*, when they first cast off *Popery*, and the *Spanish Yoke*; as also ever since their Republic hath been established in its present Form? And was not, therefore, every King of *Spain*, from the first Day of their Revolt, to the present Hour, a formidable *Pretender* with Respect to that Republic; and, according to this way of Reasoning, a desirable *Popish Competitor* in the Eyes of the *Dutch Papists*? — And yet the knowing and impartial Sir *William Temple* assures us that, “ tho’ the *Roman-Catholics* of the *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands* were very numerous in the Country among the Peasants, and con-

“ fiderable in the Cities; yet they seemed to
 “ be a *sound Piece* of the State, and fast jointed
 “ in with the Rest, and have neither given a-
 “ ny Disturbance to the Government, nor ex-
 “ pressed any Inclination to a Change, or to
 “ any foreign Power, either upon the for-
 “ mer Wars with *Spain*, or the later Invasi-
 “ ons of the Bishop of *Munster*:” — And
 that their Behaviour, ever since Sir *William*’s
 Time, hath been equally praise-worthy, I
 need not, I am sure, inform Your GRACE.

BUT we have no Occasion, my LORD, to look abroad for Reasons to invalidate this Bugbear Distinction between the Loyalty of domestic, and of foreign *Papists*; since the Facts already mentioned out of our own History, relative to the Succession of Queen *Elizabeth*, have clearly and fully refuted it. — For, did not the whole Body of *Popish* Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors and other Clergy, together with all the *Popish* Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, at the Time of Queen *Mary*’s Death, most chearfully and unanimously declare the Princess *Elizabeth*, though a known *Protestant*, the real and undoubted Heir to the Crown; although the *Popish* Queen of *Scots* had set up a Claim to it, and quartered the Arms of *England* with those of *Scotland* and *France*, on that Occasion? — Now, my LORD, if such a *Popish* Pretender as she was, (herself a Queen, her Husband Heir apparent to the Crown of *France*, her Rival, the Princess *Elizabeth*, declared illegitimate by two A&ts of Parliament) was not

not able to stir up the *Papists*, then too so powerful, to oppose that Princess's Succession, whose Averseness to their Religion was well known: How uncharitable, nay how absurd is it to suppose, That Men of the very same Principles can be tempted at this Day to disturb the present reigning Family; without the least Share of Power, or Prospect of Success on *their* Side, and in Favour of a friendless Exile, who is destitute of every one of the before-mentioned encouraging Circumstances on *his*?

NOTHING is more certain, my LORD, than that those, who are apt to raise the greatest Outcry against *Popery* and the *Pretender*, have not always proved either the best *Protestants*, or best *Subjects*, in the Day of Tryal. Of this we have had a late convincing Proof, in our dangerous Divisions in this Kingdom, in the Years 1749 and 1752; at both which Periods, many seemed to do by Speeching, and some by Writing, what the famous Mr. *Pryn* was remarked for, in the grand Rebellion of 1641 in *England*; "that
"is," (says Sir *Peter Pett*) "for publishing
"voluminous Tracts of the Disloyalty of
"*Papists*, when he himself was making so
"great a Figure in that Rebellion."

PERMIT me to remind Your GRACE, that, while the *Lucasians*, in 1749, were factiously and riotously opposing this Government, "we
"had the Comfort and Satisfaction," (to make
Use of the Words of our late worthy Prime
Serjeant.

Serjeant *Stannard*, in his Speech in the House of Commons) “ to see that all was “ quiet here; and to the Honour of the “ *Roman-Catholics*, be it remembered, not “ a Man of them moved Tongue, Pen, “ or Sword, either during the late wick-“ ed Rebellion in *Scotland*, or on the then “ Occasion! And, for my Part,” con-
tinues he, “ while they behave with Du-“ ty and Allegiance to the present Establish-“ ment, I shall hold them as Men, in equal “ Esteem with others in every Point but one: “ And while their private Opinion interferes “ not with public Tranquility, I think their “ Industry and Allegiance ought to be en-“ couraged.”

SUCH, my LORD, were that truly *honest* *Man's* Sentiments of the Conduct of our *Irish Papists*, at that Juncture, in Contrast to that of our *Protestant Lucasians*. And yet it cannot be forgotten in what Detestation the Name of *Papist* was then held by some of *both* Parties, and how bitterly and nonsenically *each*, in its *Turn*, upbraided the *other* with *it*. But that, my LORD, which is *most of all* remarkable on this Occasion, is, that some of those very Champions for the Government, who most signally, and successfully, exerted themselves against the *Lucasians* in 1749, did afterwards, in 1752, (for Reasons now known to all the World) suddenly change *Sides*; and, under the *Pretext* of Patriotism, publickly adopt all the anarchical Sentiments and Schemes
of

of that turbulent and dangerous Faction; branding, like *them*, their late Friends, the *Courtiers*, with the odious Names of *Papist* and *Jacobite*; and even characterizing a most reverend, and amiable Prelate of this Church, with the mock-Appellation of *Cardinal*, for no other assignable Cause, but his constant, and steady Adherence to the true Interest, and Support of Government. I mention this political Farce, my LORD, so lately acted among us, as one Proof, among many, That the Common-Place Out-cry against *Popery* has generally no other Meaning or Tendency, but to *blacken* an adverse Party, and to promote a private Purpose unconnected with, if not opposite to, the *true Interest* of both *Church* and *State*.

THE Truth of all this, my LORD, hath been long since known to all honest, and discerning *Protestants* of the established Church; and especially to our late glorious Patriot, Dr. *Swift*, who, in the Year, 1730, did not scruple to affirm in Print, not only "that the *Papists* "in general, of any Substance or Estate "among us, but also their Priests, almost "universally, are *Whiggs*, in the *Sense* which "by that Word is *understood*."

AND, indeed, my LORD, both the *Papist* Clergy and Laity are, fully sensible, that no Subjects of this, or any other Nation, have ever suffered so much Oppression and Injustice, under any Sovereigns, as they, in particular,

lar, have suffered, under those of the *Stuart* Line, from the first of them to the last: They are fully sensible, that King *James I.* on a Conspiracy imputed to their Ancestors, in *Ulster* (of which there never was any other Proof, but the artfully procured Terror and Flight of the Accused) seized upon six entire Counties of that Province, to the utter Extirpation, and Undoing, of the antient Proprietors: That both he, and his Son, *Charles I.* by erecting Courts of Inquisition into what was then called defective Titles, iniquitously turned many noble and deserving *Roman-Catholics*, of this Kingdom, out of their Estates: That *Charles II.* by several Acts of Parliament, transferred the Lands of others, who constantly adhered to him, at the Expence of their Blood and Treasure, to those very *Cromwellists*, and their Descendents for ever, who were either Principals, or Accessaries, in taking off his Father's Head: That, by their fond Attachment to *James II.* after his Abdication, they forfeited the Little that was left them after so many Shipwrecks; and in short, that their Ruin was compleated by the famous *Acts to prevent the further Growth of Popery*, in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, the last of that (to them indeed) inauspicious Race.

A LIVELY Remembrance, and Resentment, my LORD, of those Wrongs and Oppressions, joined to a grateful Sense of the Lenity extended to them by the present reigning Family, ever since its happy Accession to the Throne of these Kingdoms, hath, no doubt,

doubt, given that dutiful and loyal Turn to all their Thoughts and Expressions, which hath been gradually discovering itself these many Years past; and to the Sincerity of which, their peaceable Demeanor, for more than half a Century, hath given an undoubted Sanction. This Disposition, my LORD, hath been still more and more improved and cultivated by the frequent and pathetic Exhortations of their Clergy from their Altars; who have not only pressed and enjoined it as a Duty, but also threatened to cut off from their Communion, all such as proved refractory. And, thus, my LORD, those Seeds of good Affection, first planted by their own just Reflections on the Lenity of this Government, and afterwards cherished by the good Example and Doctrine of their Clergy, have, at length, grown up to that Maturity of Loyalty to His present Majesty, which is visible in all their late Addresses to His illustrious Representative: An Event, my LORD, which peculiarly distinguisheth (not less for Wisdom, than truly Christian Benevolence) his Grace the Duke of *BEDFORD*'s present Administration from all those that have preceded it; and will, I foresee, in Time, produce that general Benefit, that lasting Quiet, and Security to this Kingdom, which the Infliction of Pains and Penalties, for more than two hundred Years past, has not been able to effect.

I KNOW, my LORD, it has been artfully and industriously suggested, that, notwithstanding

standing all those plausible Appearances of Loyalty and good Affection in *Roman-Catholics*, some may yet be found among them so silly or ungrateful, as to refuse giving any satisfactory *Test* thereof to the Government; at the same Time that they confidently enough expect a Continuance of its Protection over them. Yet such Refusal, I am persuaded, supposing it should ever happen, would proceed, rather from a foolish unaccountable Prejudice, than from any real Disaffection in them. But, whatever, my LORD, should be the Motive of it, those among them, who are willing to approve themselves good and loyal Subjects, ought not, surely, to be prejudiced by it. The present Government is too just and merciful, still to punish that *whole People*, for the Folly, or Persvereness of a *Few* of the most Worthless and Ignorant among them. Such a Procedure, my LORD, would too much resemble that of *Licurgus*, who, out of Hatred to Drunkenness, ordered all the Vines in *Sparta* to be cut down.

MY LORD, I had wrote thus far, and was on the Point of concluding, when Your GRACE's excellent Thanks-giving Sermon, preached in *Christ-Church*, on the 29th of last November, before his Grace John, Duke of Bedford, was put into my Hands. It is with no small Reluctance that I forbear enlarging, in this Place, on the many and shining

shining Merits of that Performance; from the Perusal of which I have received so much Satisfaction, and Improvement. Nothing should have hindered me but the seeming Indelicacy, of repeating to Your GRACE those high Encomiums, which all good and sensible Men, who have either heard, or read it, unanimously agree, in private, to bestow upon it. But, there is, my LORD, a Passage towards the End of it, which, as it confirms the general Opinion of your Christian Compassion and Benevolence, with Regard to the People I am pleading for; so I can most truly assure Your GRACE, that no Returns of Gratitude are wanting on their Parts; but that their warmest Wishes for your Welfare and Prosperity, (which they have long entertained,) are now redoubled in them by this last signal Instance of your Goodness towards them. For my Part, that Passage has convinced me, that I have been all this Time giving Your GRACE an unnecessary Trouble; in as much as I could not presume to hope that any Thing I could offer in their Behalf, would have given Your GRACE a more favourable Opinion of their Principles and Conduct, than what you have yourself most humanely expressed, when you declared, on that solemn Occasion, that "the Sense of the " Mildness of the Government we live under, had such an Effect upon them, that "there have of late appeared Dispositions "among them, which are extremely laudable; and which, surely, ought to meet

" with every Encouragement that can be
 " consistent with Prudence and our own
 " Security."

I SHALL not, my LORD, presume to determine the Nature, or Quality, of that Encouragement, which Your GRACE so generously wisheth these People may meet with; or what Part of those *disabling Laws*, under which they have so long laboured, it might be safe, or prudent, to take off, or mitigate: Nor shall I enquire whether, since the *Causes* and *Motives*, both real and imputed, for making those Laws, have been long *removed*, their *Effects* also, so manifestly hurtful to the *Protestant Interest* itself of this Kingdom, ought not of Course to *cease*; for this Task, my LORD, hath been already executed in more than one masterly Performance * lately published. But I will conclude this Letter, by putting together some scattered Hints, which I find written to my Hand on that interesting Subject, by a very sensible *Protestant Author*, in a Pamphlet printed so long ago as the Year 1728—
 " these disabling Laws" (says this Author)
 " were made in Times of Ferment, and
 " Unsettlement, upon the Heels of our in-
 " testine Troubles, scarce then composed;
 " and which left deep Impressions on the
 " Minds of those who sorely suffered in these
 " Commotions; when Numbers of our Peo-
 " ple, and, among them, a good many,
 " trained

* See the *Protestant Interest considered, with Regard to the Penal Laws. Seasonable Thoughts, &c.*

" trained and inured to Arms, who had un-
 " happily acted, or appeared, on the wrong
 " Side of the Quarrel, were naturally, and
 " but reasonably, suspected of strong Incli-
 " nations to the Cause they had miscarried
 " in, and of a Disposition to relapse and em-
 " brace, and favour it again, if ever it
 " should come upon the Carpet.—And it
 " was highly reasonable, nay it was but
 " common Prudence, to have a watchful
 " Eye, and to hold a straight Hand too, over
 " a Set of People in that Disposition, and in
 " that Capacity of disturbing, or perhaps,
 " overturning our Settlements. Nor is it
 " so much to be wondered at, if even the
 " Makers of that extensive Law, did not,
 " at such a Juncture, and in such Circum-
 " stances, at once, foresee all those Conse-
 " quences which it has since drawn after it;
 " since a Law must be of more than human
 " Institution, and Modelling, not to be liable
 " to some unforeseen Inconveniencies.

" BUT not one of these Reasons and Mo-
 " tives, which gave Occasion to that Law,
 " now subsists, except that great Numbers
 " of the *Irish*, but of the lowest and poorest
 " of them, continue still Papists; many of
 " the most considerable Heads of them, at
 " whom those Laws were personally levelled,
 " are since become Protestants: So that they
 " have neither the Numbers, nor Leaders,
 " nor Discipline at home, nor the Alli-
 " ances, nor Expectations from abroad,
 " which they were then supposed to have;
 " or

“ or which may render them, in any Degree,
 “ formidable to us. And were all these Cir-
 “ cumstances still subsisting, yet, I should
 “ still think them very cogent Reasons, ra-
 “ ther for reclaiming and recovering our
 “ own People, and attaching and securing
 “ them to ourselves, than for distressing
 “ and driving them unto Poverty and De-
 “ spair, and making them, at best, for ever
 “ lost and useless to us.”

“ Now, I cannot, for my Life, see that
 “ there can be any better Way (if there
 “ can be any other) of attaching a People to
 “ a Constitution, and engaging them, both
 “ by Interest and Inclination, to support it,
 “ than, first cherishing and protecting them;
 “ and then making their Estates and their
 “ Fortunes, which are their Bread and their
 “ Life, so dependent on it, as ever to stand
 “ or fall with it. A Beggar and a Slave has
 “ Nothing to lose, Nothing to save; he has
 “ neither Liberty nor Property to defend:
 “ No Change can make his Condition worse,
 “ though it may give him some Chance for
 “ bettering it; nay, he seems to have no
 “ Chance or Prospect but in a Change; and
 “ who that were a Beggar and a Slave,
 “ would not, at least, wish for a Change of
 “ that Condition: Besides, occasional and
 “ temporary Laws, as they were never
 “ made of Inclination or Choice, but Ne-
 “ cessity, ought by necessary Implication to
 “ be

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" be temporary, and to cease with the Oc-
" casions themselves; and, in the mean
" Time, to abate and relax in Proportion as
" these do."

I am, my LORD,
with true Respect,
Your GRACE's most obedient,
and most bumble Servant,

A. B.

March 3d, 1760.

*This Day was published by Dillon Chamberlaine, in
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